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Rhetoric or Results?: Tourism, The Aquarium, and The People of Fortaleza

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SIT Study Abroad

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RHETORIC OR RESULTS?: TOURISM, THE AQUARIUM, AND THE PEOPLE OF FORTALEZA

By Molly Silvia
SIT Brazil: Social Justice and Sustainable Development
Fall 2013

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***This project is dedicated to the people of Fortaleza –
may your future be as bright as is promised.***

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Abstract

When one thinks of tourism, he or she conjures images of travel, exotic locations, and spending money. Yet rarely do people stop and think about where exactly their money is going. Nowadays, tourism is a booming industry that many countries believe contributes significantly to their GDP. But while tourism may contribute significantly to a country's economy, it may not provide the people of that nation with any substantial improvements in their quality of life. This monograph questions why Brazil has chosen to invest its GDP in the tourism industry, while the nation has 21.4% of its population in poverty (The World Bank Group, 2013). If the situation of poverty throughout Brazil is so large, why is the government spending money on an aquarium, and not directly on the people. Why is the aquarium seen as an investment in the nation's future?

Northeast Brazil has been marked as an important tourist area for the nation, given its great natural beauty of shorelines, mountains and cultural history. It will play an important role then, in the future of the nation's tourism industry, and this may be beneficial to the region, as it experiences some of the greatest levels of economic disparity within Brazil (Siegel and Alwang, 2005). For within the Ministry of Tourism's plans for the nation, it claims that the tourism sector will contribute to "economic and social development, and the eradication of poverty" (Governo Federal Brasil).

By looking specifically at the aquarium that is being built in, Ceará – a state within this Northeastern region – this monograph will argue that while tourism and its infrastructure development in Brazil claim to improve the economic and social issues, the

reality is that the rhetoric of the state does not produce the necessary results to improve the welfare of its citizens. This paper will show some of the varying views and desires held by the people of Fortaleza, from university professors to scientists, to members of Poço da Draga, the community adjacent to the aquarium. It will also provide some suggestions of ways in which the government can improve the “economic and social development” of Fortaleza and her people.

Quando se pensa em turismo, ele evoca imagens de viagens, lugares exóticos, e gastar dinheiro. No entanto, raramente as pessoas param e pensam em exatamente onde seu dinheiro está indo. Hoje em dia, o turismo é uma indústria florescente, que muitos países acreditam que contribui significativamente para o seu PIB. Mas enquanto o turismo pode contribuir de forma significativa para a economia de um país, não pode fornecer o povo daquela nação com todas as melhorias substanciais na sua qualidade de vida. Esta monografia pergunta por que o Brasil optou por investir seu PIB no setor de turismo, enquanto o país tem 21,4% de sua população na pobreza (The World Bank Group, 2013). Se a situação de pobreza em todo o Brasil é tão grande, por que o governo de gastar dinheiro em um aquário, e não diretamente sobre as pessoas. Por que o aquário visto como um investimento no futuro da nação?

O Nordeste do Brasil tem sido marcado como uma importante área turística para a nação, dada a sua grande beleza natural das linhas costeiras, montanhas e história cultural. Ele vai jogar um papel importante, em seguida, para o futuro da indústria do turismo do país, e isso pode ser benéfico para a região, uma vez que experimenta alguns dos maiores níveis de desigualdade econômica no Brasil (Siegel and Alwang, 2005). Por dentro do Ministério dos planos do Turismo para a nação, ela afirma que o setor de

turismo vai contribuir para o "desenvolvimento econômico e social e a erradicação da pobreza" (Governo Federal Brasil).

Ao olhar especificamente para o aquário que está sendo construído em Ceará - um estado dentro desta região Nordeste - esta monografia vai argumentar que, embora o turismo e seu desenvolvimento de infra-estrutura no Brasil pretendem melhorar as questões econômicas e sociais, a realidade é que a retórica da o Estado não produzir os resultados necessários para melhorar o bem-estar dos seus cidadãos. Este artigo vai mostrar alguns dos pontos de vista diferentes e desejos realizados pelo povo de Fortaleza, de professores universitários, os cientistas, e os membros do Poço da Draga, comunidade ao lado do aquário. Também irá fornecer algumas sugestões de maneiras pelas quais o governo pode melhorar o "desenvolvimento econômico e social" de Fortaleza e seu povo (Governo Federal Brasil).

Introduction

In the globalized world we live in today, it comes as no surprise that tourism is a major industry. In fact, in 2012, tourism and travel's direct and indirect contributions to the world's GDP were US\$ 6.6 trillion – a contribution that represents 9% of the total economy of GDP (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2013a). It has become a major contributor to countless economies around the globe, and Brazil is no exception. The nation is looking to use tourism as a major economy boost, and this can be seen as the nation spent 5.4% of its GDP in 2012 investing in travel and tourism; this is up .2% from 2011, and is projected to rise again in 2013 (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2013b).

In fact, the national strategy for poverty reduction in Northeast Brazil singles out tourism as a main strategy to improve the economic situation of the region, which happens to be the nation's most economically disparate (Siegel & Alwang, 2005). This strategy permits money to be allocated for tourism infrastructure development in the name of overall economic improvement, and to achieve this goal, the federal government created the Action Program for Tourism Development in the Northeast (PRODETUR/NE) (Medeiros de Araujo & Bromwell, 2002). Created in the 1990s, one of the major goals was poverty reduction, but "PRODETUR/NE also included economic, social and environmental objectives within its design"(Siegel & Alwang, 2005).

One such project that has received investment and the government's backing is Fortaleza's 'Ceará Aquarium'. This monograph intends to shed light on the social implications of the aquarium's development, specifically within Poço da Draga, the

favela¹ community located alongside the aquarium's construction site, that will potentially benefit from the aquarium's presence, or will have its needs overlooked by the government in the aquarium's creation. A focus will be placed upon the viewpoints of citizens of the Fortaleza, the community members of Poço da Draga, and their opinions on the aquarium, tourism in Ceará, and the future of Fortaleza. It will uncover whether the money received by tourism is improving the economic and social status of Fortaleza's citizens, and whether the words of the government hold any weight, or are merely empty promises for a better future for society. And finally, it will speak to other potential areas of investment that may be more beneficial to the welfare of the citizens, via the suggestions of the citizens interviewed.

PART I: Methodology

This monograph is a culmination of a three-week research project conducted by the author in the city of Fortaleza, from November 3 to November 25, 2013. A variety of sites were visited, including the community of Poço Da Draga, Faculdade Ateneu, Instituto de Ciências do Mar (LABOMAR), and the aquarium construction site. This was in an attempt to understand a wide variety of opinions on the aquarium.

In an attempt to understand the countless viewpoints that exist, a number of formal and informal interviews were conducted. Thirteen people were interviewed throughout the research process, five of which were within a formal setting. The points of view within this monograph were drawn from community members from Poço da Draga,

¹ See glossary of terms for definition

² See appendix III for some photos

university professors, scientists, marine biologists, an activist, and an aquarium construction worker.

Observation and participation were two other methods used during the research period. While these methods did not take place on a regular basis, due to the nature of this research, they were implemented most around Praia de Iracema. Participation was implemented both within the community, at the construction site, and within the interviews conducted. This involved getting to know the people of Poço da Draga and walking through the community. Speaking with community members gave me a better idea of the history of the area and the community, as well as a better understanding for the varied ideas about the aquarium. Observation was implemented at the aquarium construction site, where Elizabeth and I were permitted to enter the construction zone and directly see the work. This was also a manner of participation, as we spoke with architects and asked questions about the blueprints shown to us. Observation also took place outside the construction site, as the graffiti lining the walls of the area was noted within the author's field journal. Photography was one method of employed to capture the observations made, and the field journal contains photos of the construction site and the graffiti².

I began my research with a visit to the aquarium site, so that I could better acquaint myself with the future of the project, and what exactly the construction would entail. I also went to the state Secretary of Tourism early on during the research period, in an attempt to better understand their justifications for the aquarium, and what they believed the structure would accomplish. From there, I began my interviews, in an

² See appendix III for some photos

attempt to understand what the people of Fortaleza knew about the project, and what their own personal opinions of the aquarium were.

While I wanted my focus to be on the community of Poço da Draga, as will likely be one of the communities most affected by the aquarium's construction, I also hoped to cast a wide net so I would not tell solely one side of the story. Instead, I hoped to speak with a number of citizens of Fortaleza from different areas and backgrounds, so that I could get as many different viewpoints of the citizens of Fortaleza as possible, given the short time frame I had to work with. And although it is impossible to say I represent the "people's view" given that I spoke with so few people, I have attempted to the best of my abilities to bring the many different perspectives of citizens into this monograph.

PART II: Ethical Responsibility

Given the nature of my fieldwork, there were some ethical situations that I had to be aware of. It was important that I provided an explanation of the intents of my research to my subjects up front, so that they could decide if they hoped to participate in this project. This was especially important, as Elizabeth worked on the other side of the project and spoke with government officials. If Elizabeth or I neglected to tell our subjects about our joint work, it could have repercussions. And in fact, some people I spoke with were glad that their identities and responses protected. Being forward, and explaining explain the situation of my ISP, and the privacy that would come with participation, allowed me to engage in many discussions I believe would not have taken place. It also means I have had to take precautionary measures such as password

protection of the interviews and pseudonyms. Those who decided to speak with me need to be protected so that they don't experience any negative consequences.

I am also glad that I entered the project with an open mind and open-ended questions regarding the aquarium's construction. I found that many different responses, and interesting conversations came out of the interviews that I had not anticipated. My perceptions given my research assumed that the people would be against the aquarium. And while this was true in many cases, I'm glad my questions were open, as many people responded with surprising reasons for disliking the aquarium, or even said they believed it was a good thing. If I had gone into the project with the assumption that the people were helpless, I would not have gotten the real story, and I feel like my questions allowed me to see a more nuanced story that it had if I had allowed my assumptions to clutter my interview questions. It allowed me to write about what I saw, and tell the story that existed, instead of a story I believed to exist given my own thoughts.

Part III: The Aquarium's Current State

If you were to walk towards the beach from Fortaleza's Dragão do Mar Art Center, you would find yourself walking along a well-paved area, with beautiful artistic graffiti lining the walls, and would end up at Praia do Iracema. During the day, to your right, you would hear the sounds of drills and machinery. These noises would be heard, but no workers would be seen, as walls splashed with graffiti surround the construction site. Large green signs declare the government's work, and the amount being spent on the aquarium. Directly in front of you would be a gazebo appearing quite new; the paint

remains intact, and there is no graffiti scrawled across its walls. With ten steps forward from the gazebo, you will find your shoes filled with sand. As you look out to the water, and continue to turn left, you will see the remains of an old port; the wood is dark and worn, but yet somehow the structure looks secure, planted firm in the water. Turn further left, and you will see a line of small, multi-floored houses. This is Poço da Draga. Only a few houses are visible – a graffiti splashed concrete wall keeps from seeing further into the community than the first ten or so houses. And yet you only need the first few houses to know that you are standing alongside a place that will contrast with the brand new infrastructure of the aquarium³.

The ‘Ceará Aquarium’ is currently being built by the city of Fortaleza, and is scheduled for opening in 2015. It is to be the home of 25 aquariums, approximately 500 species, a total of 35,000 animals, 15,000,000 liters of water, 2 touch tanks, simulators, an interactive 3-D video attraction, 2 observation tunnels, and 2 4-D cinemas. When completed, it will be the third largest aquarium in the world. It will also cost the state government of Ceará US\$ 48,000,000. At the time the site was visited in October 2013, the first basement level, that will house technical work, was essentially complete⁴.

Unfortunately, this construction has already had an impact on the members of the adjacent community. Some of the homes in Poço da Draga have experienced cracks in the walls given the constant drilling at the aquarium site⁵. And so, right from the beginning, this new infrastructure that promised to bring prosperity to the people of the

³ See Appendix III for photos of the aquarium construction site

⁴ All statistics above obtained during fieldwork, Tour of Aquarium Site, October 15, 2012. ISP Journal page 5.

⁵ Visit to Poço da Draga, November 14, 2013. ISP Journal page 12.

city is already harming the livelihoods of some of its neighbors. This may suggest that the project does not bode well for the people of Poço da Draga.

Part IV: Poço da Draga and its Concerns

Poço da Draga is filled with history, given its location within Fortaleza. It has existed for 107 years, and is situated alongside the Ponte Metálica, or Metallic Point⁶. This area was the location of the first major port of Fortaleza, and so this “was where, practically, the development of the city of Fortaleza’s economy began”⁷. Unfortunately, this area has lost much of its historic value, as many old buildings lay in ruins, and the area is home to a large part of the sex tourism industry in Fortaleza⁸. While the bairro is considered “Centro”, as it was the historic center of Fortaleza, it does not maintain the charm and tourist attraction that can now be boasted along Beira Mar or Praia do Futuro, which are considered the more “developed” beachfronts.

Poço da Draga, like many of the buildings that surround it, has been in many ways abandoned and left without repairs. There is no school within the community, no health clinic, no trash collection, and no sewage system. The community members do not even technically own the land they live on, as they never paid for the property. Because of this their homes are small, made with basic materials similar to stucco and a terracotta roof. They are packed together side by side, and many of them contain more than one floor, usually due to relatives building atop a family’s home. Given the

⁶ See glossary of terms for definition

⁷ Lorena. Personal Interview, November 21, 2013. ISP Journal page 35.

⁸ Thiago. Personal Interview, November 13, 2013. ISP Journal page 26.

aforementioned lack of amenities and the fact that they do not own property, the community is generally classified as a favela⁹. One may wonder why no one has come along to buy this prime piece of beach real estate, or why the government has not forced the community out, given they have no legal claim to the land. In fact, the people of the community “have been told for 50 years that they needed to leave the land”¹⁰. And yet, they remain, and hope to continue to live where they are, as many members have lived there their entire lives, and grew up and currently live in the houses left to them by their parents. Some believe the land should become theirs, given that they have lived there for 100 years.

But now, the aquarium raises a real threat, and puts the future of the community in question. People may be forced to leave, or paid to leave, and they acknowledge that “once you leave, you cannot come back to Praia do Iracema”¹¹. They know members of the community may accept \$50,000 Brazilian reais, for an area of land that may actually be worth two or three million. But community members may be tempted by this money, as they have never seen this much before, and so they will choose to accept the money and go¹². Unfortunately, they will never return, as the value of the land along the beach will increase with the aquarium’s construction, and the future tourism industry it will bring. The R\$50,000 that were initially accepted by the community member will not be enough to re-purchase a plot along the beach, and their direct oceanfront access will most likely cease to exist.

⁹ See glossary of terms for definition

¹⁰ Michele. Personal Interview, November 19, 2013. ISP Journal page 32.

¹¹ Lorena. Personal Interview, November 21, 2013. ISP Journal page 38.

¹² Lorena. Personal Interview, November 21, 2013. ISP Journal page 38.

So was an agreement between the community and the government ever reached during the planning of the aquarium? While an ‘Associação de Moradores’, or Community Association was created to represent the interest of the community, the only meeting the community ever had with the government in regards to the aquarium took place in 2003¹³. Since then, no one had heard anything about the aquarium, until they heard about it on the news, or saw it in the newspapers. And in some cases, people only realized the aquarium would be created “when buildings began to be torn down” around the area¹⁴. This example shows the lack of communication between the government and these people, whose livelihoods are to be drastically altered given the aquarium’s location. Unfortunately, this is not an infrequent occurrence when it comes to tourism, as I am assured by others outside the community that approximately “99% of the population is never consulted”¹⁵.

This lack of communication may not be as surprising as it sounds. Previous tourism projects have concerned Poço da Draga, and here too, the government’s concern lay with the project, and not with the welfare or concerns of the community. Between 2001 and 2006, the state government of Ceará had intended to build another type of touristic infrastructure along Praia do Iracema – the Culture and Events Center. If this structure were to have been built, those within Poço da Draga would have received new housing on the current land they already own, as the area would have been converted into an apartment complex. Given the controversy of the project, it was eventually decided to relocate the Cultural and Events Center to a different area of the city. Unfortunately, this

¹³ Lorena. Personal Interview, November 21, 2013. ISP Journal page 35.

¹⁴ Michele. Personal Interview, November 19, 2013. ISP Journal page 32.

¹⁵ Sebastian. Personal Interview, November 8, 2013. ISP Journal page 19.

left the people of Poço da Draga without any infrastructure development, as the construction there was “um subproduto da construção do mega-equipamento turístico” – a byproduct of the major tourist infrastructure (Gondim, 2008). This example shows the neglect for the community, and provides an insight into the way Poço da Draga is viewed in the eyes of the government. There is no effort to improve the community, unless it is part of greater tourism infrastructure development. And this too, is interesting to note, as the aquarium is now being built along Praia do Iracema, and its plans contain nothing pertaining to the future and improvements of the community. In many ways then, it is no surprise communication between the government and Poço da Draga was nonexistent during the aquarium’s planning process; the people may have asked for the community to receive benefits as well, given that this was offered during the planning for the Culture and Events center.

And so, community members have taken the initiative to improve their own wellbeing. They have organized the Associação de Moradores, and have worked with NGOs on projects such as Poço da Cultura, and the creation of a public community library (Maia, 2013). The community recognizes that it needs more; that basic amenities, education and social infrastructure are lacking. And yet after 107 years of existence, not only do they not have basic infrastructure, they do not seem to be a concern for the government. It is for this reason, and this lack of amenities, that many of them reject the aquarium.

“The only thing that the people know is that health is horrible, and that the money is only for the aquarium. Security...it’s security that is needed. There, they are spending money to guard fish...and us humans? And us humans...that pay taxes...that need health?”¹⁶

¹⁶ Michele. Personal Interview, November 19, 2013. ISP Journal page 32.

For some in the community, it is not a matter of the aquarium being built, or the aquarium being built alongside the community or the beach. Instead, the issue is that the money is going to the aquarium, while the people of Fortaleza and Poço da Draga are without basic health, education, security, and sanitation.

Part V: Tourism's Social Impacts on Fortaleza and its People

It may come as no surprise that the men and women within Poço da Draga hold the view that social justice issues need to be addressed by the government before infrastructure like the aquarium is built. However, they are not the only ones who hold these beliefs. Scientists, college professors, and activists, all of who have the proper amenities for a dignified quality of life believe that social issues of the city must be addressed. Thiago¹⁷, an employee at Instituto de Ciências do Mar (Labomar) may actually benefit from the aquarium. As a marine biologist and scientist, he will most likely be able to conduct research at the aquarium, or at least will benefit from the research done there. While he acknowledges the positive research and educational opportunities that may come from the aquarium, he still believes that the money could be better used for other things, and without prompting, his response specifically acknowledged the welfare of those in Poço da Draga:

You have an aquarium there, and to the side the community of Poço da Draga. And they are using public money. And so...the public money...that is being invested here...in this aquarium...why is it not being invested there...in Poço da Draga? Creating a sewage

¹⁷ All names within this monograph apart from Elizabeth have been changed to protect the identity of research subjects

system that doesn't exist, creating a trash collection system adequate for the region, creating a school, a daycare for the children...those who are there in the streets consuming drugs. Why aren't they building a health post there, in the middle of the community for the people that need consultations? The public money could be invested there, as public security... for those who are citizens of the state.¹⁸”

The needs of the citizens of the state must be attended to first, and then from there, the government can worry about aquariums and tourism development.

The graffiti lining the walls of the aquarium construction site also reflects this disenchantment with the government valuing the aquarium over its own citizens. Phrases such as “A promessa de investir em gente, na gente essa nunca é cumprida”¹⁹, or “A promise of investment in the people, but this is never fulfilled” line the wall. With this writing, the people are hoping to have a voice. They are hoping that their dissatisfaction will be known, and that they disagree with the spending of the government; “falta hospital, falta escola, só não falta aquário...reflita, aquário não!”²⁰, or “Missing hospitals, missing schools, but not missing an aquarium... reflect, no to the aquarium!” is not merely random graffiti, it is a plea for change²¹. While the aquarium is created, there are people throughout the city, and ironically right alongside the construction site, who lack the most basic of amenities. This is a clear point of contention. The *public* money is being spent on the aquarium, the taxpayer dollars, the money of the people – and 48 million of it²². And yet the people do not believe they will see this money invested in their own welfare. The results of a World Bank survey published in 2005 suggest that this belief has been rooted in past examples. In Natal, the

¹⁸ Thiago. Personal Interview November 13, 2013. ISP Journal page 29.

¹⁹ ISP Journal Appendix 2 page 43.

²⁰ ISP Journal Appendix 2 page 43.

²¹²¹ See appendix III for graffiti photos

²² Informational Packet from Secretary of Tourism. ISP Journal page 7.

capital of Rio Grande de Norte, another beachside tourist destination within the northeast, those surveyed acknowledged “poor and local residents were not perceived to be major beneficiaries of tourism development” (Seigel & Alwang, 2005). This information suggests that there is a pattern that can be seen within government spending in the northeast. While tourism infrastructure is being developed, the local populations as early as 2005 did not feel they were receiving the benefits. Eight years later in 2013, the people still hold similar beliefs, suggesting that things have not changed.

And while others spoken to during this research period on the aquarium had different views on the issue of social infrastructure development, they still recognized the necessity for this infrastructure to be implemented. “Sebastian”, a college professor, questions the general infrastructure of the city in a comparison he draws with the Caribbean. The number of international visitors to the Caribbean is exponentially higher than the number of international visitors to Fortaleza – approximately 20,000,000 to 250,000 respectively²³. “Sebastian” recognizes the difference between these two tourist destinations is Fortaleza’s lack of basic infrastructure, which leaves tourists with a bad impression of the city:

“[People ask] ‘How can I go to Beach Park? I don’t know the directions?’ And so, you aren’t safe. And sometimes, you are scared. You are in Beira Mar and you see a child asking for money. And this says a lot. They’re selling prostitution, they’re selling people asking for money, they’re selling trash in the streets. And so it’s a hostile environment, not a pleasant one.”²⁴

While he had never visited the Caribbean, so he did not know the specific attractions it may hold, he believed that the large gap in visitors must mean that Fortaleza “is doing

²³ Sebastian. Personal Interview November 8, 2013. ISP Journal page 19.

²⁴ Sebastian. Personal Interview November 8, 2013. ISP Journal page 20.

something wrong”²⁵. And so, he believes it is the inefficient system of transportation, great poverty, the problem of prostitution, and the lack of city infrastructure such as garbage collection and environmental education, that leaves Fortaleza at a disadvantage. Sebastian addresses a major issue within this comment: Fortaleza may be preparing for tourists, but without simple infrastructure, tourists will not come. In this way, he is arguing for social justice, and a focus on basic infrastructure development (such as transportation and garbage collection), but he is arguing for this development for a different reason. He is viewing the lack of social infrastructure in a more practical way, and believes that if this infrastructure does not exist first, Fortaleza will continue to attract domestic tourism, but will never become an international travel destination. The current social injustices of the city create a multitude of problems, and these problems hurt Fortaleza’s attempts to attract tourists from around the globe.

So what are some social injustices? What exactly is the government spending on social infrastructure in comparison to tourism? How widespread are some of the most pressing social issues within the nation? In 2009, Brazil invested approximately 5.8% of its national GDP in the travel and tourism industry (WTTC, 2013b). This number seems quite small in terms of the entire GDP, but it is actually higher than the amount spent on education that year. 2009 saw Brazil spend 5.55% of its GDP on education (OECD, 2012). And while this may be a small difference, one must remember that even with this small percentage, less money is being spent on the needs of the people of the nation, than on tourists. To put the issue of education in greater perspective, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) recognizes that “some 30.1% of 15-

²⁵ Sebastian. Personal Interview November 8, 2013. ISP Journal page 20.

19 year-old Brazilians are not in school. Of these, 16.1% are employed, 4.3% are unemployed and 9.7% are not in the labor force.”(OECD, 2011). Progress is being made, as the rate of secondary education attainment is slowly increasing. And yet, even with improvements, Brazil’s attainment rate was only 41% for 25-64 year olds in 2009; compare this with the OECD average of 74%, and the dire situation of Brazil’s educational system becomes much more visible (OECD, 2012).

With numbers like these, it becomes much more apparent why many in Fortaleza are against the aquarium’s construction. More money is being invested in tourism, even when the education levels within the nation are exceedingly poor. If people do not receive an education, how can they obtain jobs within the formal sector? How can they keep from working informally, or asking for money on the street?

Another major issue within the city is sanitation. Research done by the National Union of Architecture and Engineering (Sinaenco), found that 15% of Fortaleza’s population were concerned with the low levels of sanitation within the state. It was found that “only 35.21% of households are served by the sewage system and of those, 41.71% has rudimentary sewage tanks” (Cidade, 2013). With numbers like this, it is no surprise that the immediate concern of Fortaleza’s citizens are basic amenities. The people want improvements. They do not want the promise that investments in tourism will bring economic prosperity that will be invested in society. Instead, they want to see the money directly improving the social infrastructure of the nation, which in many cases is desperately needed.

PART VI: Tourism – Promises for the Future

The government of Brazil continues to invest in tourism, attesting that the money brought into the economy by this tourism will improve the welfare of the nation. And while it is true that certain areas are improving, the majority of the social issues are not being addressed.

One example is the job market. Tourism has brought a great increase in jobs to Brazil. In 2012, travel and tourism directly supported 3% of the total employment of Brazil, providing 2,950,000 jobs to the people of the nation (WTTC, 2013b). And given this increase in jobs, it placed some members of Poço da Draga in favor of the aquarium's existence next to the community. However, when asked about what jobs would be brought to community members, many of the men and women that I spoke to suggested that they might sell food or trinkets around the aquarium site. There was no suggestion that one of the community members might have the opportunity to work inside of the aquarium in a formal employment setting, in which a minimum salary and benefits would be provided. This is positive, and a step in the right direction, but if the members of the community end up only joining the informal job market, are they truly being helped? With improved education, a student in the community could go on to become a marine biologist, speak foreign languages, and work inside the aquarium itself in a formal setting. And so, "if the community of Poço da Draga had a program of educational qualification, it would be one thing. At the moment, they don't have it so it's another story"²⁶. This educational support is necessary to provide the citizens with real

²⁶ Thiago. Personal Interview November 13, 2013. ISP Journal page 30.

jobs – and so while they will gain some type of employment, it will not be sustainable employment that will provide them with a steady income.

Another state within the Northeast, Rio Grande de Norte is also attempting to attract tourists. There, research was conducted in 2005 in an attempt to understand the social impacts of tourism. Natal, the capital of the state, also lies along the beach, and is also investing a great deal in tourist infrastructure, as it saw the tourism industry's contribution to the state's GDP grow from 3.5% in 1996 to 6.1% in 1998 (Seigel & Alwang, 2005). And yet survey responses provided during a PRODETUR meeting in Natal saw that stakeholders in tourism development acknowledged that many negative outcomes exist within the current tourism development framework; "child prostitution, drug trafficking, a community population that is growing too rapidly, and potential dislocation were some of the major issues addressed by the group" (Siegel & Alwang, 2010)²⁷. It was also acknowledged by those surveyed in the meeting that social infrastructure was not being developed in a way that the people had hoped.

"Respondents exhibited substantial concern about the priorities reflected in infrastructure investments, with about 67 percent agreeing that public services available as a result of infrastructure investments were not in accordance with community priorities (Seigel & Alwang, 2005).

This example parallels the sentiments towards the aquarium held by the people I interviewed within Fortaleza. The people of the city have expressed their disapproval through manifestations, graffiti, and interviews. Fortaleza's citizens do not believe that the investments in the aquarium fall in line with community priorities, as they would

²⁷ The survey was conducted during a meeting of the Rio Norte Tourism Council of PRODETUR/NE's "Pólos Municípios". 200 people attended the meeting. Approximately 28% of those surveyed were members of the council, 75% were from Natal, and the remainder were from other costal municipalities

rather see the money directly invested in the needs of citizens – in areas such as education, health or security. They believe the priorities of the government are not in line with those of the people – and this is the area of disagreement and disapproval.

What was interesting within the survey was the positive view on tourism as a whole, instead of particular infrastructure.

“Almost 90 percent of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that tourism had improved the quality of life in their community. However, the economic benefits and improvements to environmental quality from tourism were not as widely accepted. A substantial proportion disagreed with the statement that economic benefits outweighed environmental and social costs. A widely held perception is that investments in infrastructure had not been sufficient, and there was near-unanimous agreement that more infrastructure investments are needed (Seigel & Alwang, 2005).”

When tourism had been implemented, people did believe that results could be seen. 90 percent is an overwhelming amount to believe tourism is an improvement. And within the research conducted for this monograph, the men and women interviewed held similar sentiments – they thought tourism had brought some good to the city, but not the necessary infrastructure developments. Everyone believed that tourism was good for Fortaleza, and that it would boost the economy of the city. This belief was one of the most informative, as it gave a better understanding into the ideas of the people of Fortaleza. Regardless of background, view on the aquarium, and ideas about the government, tourism was seen as something that could improve the city. Statements such as: “I have no doubt. I have no doubt. Tourism has to be thought of as an inducer of economic development”²⁸, “Tourism is good. Tourism is good”²⁹, and

²⁸ Salvador. Personal Interview November 11, 2013. ISP Journal page 24.

²⁹ Michele. Personal Interview November 19, 2013. ISP Journal page 34.

“I believe that tourism is essential today as a creative part of the economy of a city”³⁰.

These statements show the support of tourism – and the belief that the men and women interviewed have in the future of the city while tourism exists. They believe that tourism investment is important, but if other investments aren’t made, “there will come a time in which [tourism investment] is no use³¹” as society lacks the basic infrastructure to attract and sustain an increase in tourism. If the people were cared for, they would have no problem with the money invested in tourism, and so perhaps no problem with the aquarium. Instead, the aquarium is rejected because it represents the ways in which the government is valuing tourism over its own constituents. The citizens of Fortaleza seem to simply want their wellbeing to be the primary objective of the government; tourism can come after.

Part VII: Where From Here? Ideas for Improvement

With all of this rhetoric surrounding the aquarium, from liking tourism, disliking the aquarium, and believing or not believing that the monies brought to Fortaleza by the aquarium will improve the social infrastructure of the city, the aquarium *is* and *will* be built and open to the public in less than 2 years. The structure will introduce a host of tourists to Praia do Iracema, a place where many may have been nervous to venture to otherwise. So where does this leave the population of Fortaleza, and the people of Poço da Draga in the coming years? Will their lives improve, because the state decides to invest in them? Will the aquarium bring its promised social benefits? Or will the historic

³⁰ Lorena. Personal Interview November 21, 2013. ISP Journal page 35.

³¹ Sebastian. Personal Interview November 8, 2013. ISP Journal page 21.

community be forced out of their homes, or succumb to selling their homes when offered a large sum of money?

Unfortunately, all of these options are merely speculation, and until the aquarium opens we cannot know for sure. But what are some of the options for the future? What are some of the ways to resolve the social infrastructure issues such as health, security, and education of Fortaleza and Poço da Draga? Those interviewed had many different ideas, but they almost unanimously agreed that “vamos dar as prioridades as piores” – “we need to give priority to those worse off³²”. The government should be investing in the basic needs of the people before it invests in aquariums and other tourist infrastructure. What differed between the interviewees was the manner in which they believed this priority could be accomplished. Using their suggestions, some potential ideas for change and the future are included below.

The first suggestion would be to educate the citizens. Not necessarily in the manner of schooling, though this is important as well, but so that they may obtain jobs working in the formal tourism industry. First, “The government should implement this professional training program...qualify the population, so that it can work and earn an income”³³. From there, teach the people useful skills for the tourism industry (though this does not have to be the only training program available). One issue is that “a large part of the population of Ceará does not speak another language”³⁴. While this may not be a huge issue at the moment, given that the majority of tourism in Brazil is currently

³² Lorena. Personal Interview November 21, 2013. ISP Journal page 39.

³³ Thiago. Personal Interview November 13, 2013. ISP Journal page 27.

³⁴ Sebastian. Personal Interview November 8, 2013. ISP Journal page 18.

domestic³⁵, it will keep the country from being an attractive destination to foreigners (WTTC, 2013b). Perhaps then, within this program, courses in the foreign languages seen most frequently within Fortaleza should be included. From there, teach skills such as hospitality or hotel management – that is “the education of ‘good day’, ‘good afternoon’, and calling the client by name”³⁶. With these things, people will be more marketable within the tourism industry, and Fortaleza will become a more pleasant destination to visit.

And what about the people of Poço da Draga specifically? Another example of a favela may hold a potential solution. Located in Rio de Janeiro is Rocinha, the largest favela in Brazil. In September 2006, the favela was declared an official tourist attraction, as many people had capitalized on taking tourists to an exotic and new location within the city (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). One possible solution may be this model, in which people can enter Poço da Draga to understand the community, its history, and witness its struggle. Rocinha sees 3,000 tourists visit the favela each month, and this is with tours becoming popular solely within the past decade (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). The traffic already coming through Praia da Iracema with the creation of the aquarium may allow for Poço da Draga to thrive off of this pre-existing market. As a tourism strategy that has been proven to work in other areas of Brazil, it may be more easily accepted, and this option would incorporate both tourism and the community members – which could be a win-win for all parties involved. The issue with this method is that by remaining a ‘favela’, the people of Poço da Draga will most likely continue to live within their current

³⁵ The World Travel and Tourism Council data shows that only 5.5% of the total contributions to GDP by travel and tourism comes from foreigners, leaving 94.5% domestic

³⁶ Salvador. Personal Interview November 11, 2013. ISP Journal page 22.

state of poverty and lack the same amenities they do now. Thus, this may not help the community, but further perpetuate the social issues that currently exist within the community.

Fortunately, there is more for the people of Poço da Draga and the surrounding area to offer than merely favela tours. Given the proximity to the beach, the fact that it will be alongside the aquarium, its location down the street from Dragão do Mar Arts Center, and its historic past, Poço da Draga and the government have the ability to work together to renovate Praia do Iracema, the surrounding area, and the community into a tourist attraction. “The region of Praia do Iracema is a historic region. There are many historic buildings that today are abandoned”³⁷. The government and the communities within the area have multiple options as to what they intend to do with this history. One option is to build up the area, destroy the history, and force the people of Poço da Draga out of their homes so that high-rises and luxury hotels can line the shores and surround the aquarium. The other is to preserve and refurbish this history of the city. Lorena argues that this could improve tourism, while providing for the community as well.

“We have our attractions, heritage, we have here, neighborhoods like Poço da Draga, that could work to present the local history. Here was the old Ponte Metálica that the people speak of, that we have knowledge of, where the economic city of Fortaleza practically began and was developed. This is history”³⁸.

With this option of turning towards history, the city of Fortaleza has the potential to accomplish many goals at one time. The tourism industry in the area will increase to the Centro area, as has been attempted by the aquarium and Dragão do Mar Arts Center. The people of Poço da Draga will also be helped, as they understand the history of the area,

³⁷ Thiago. Personal Interview November 13, 2013. ISP Journal page 26.

³⁸ Lorena. Personal Interview November 21, 2013. ISP Journal page 35.

and after 107 years have a history of their own to share. From the Ponte Metálica, the historic port, to Dragão do Mar, the man who helped abolish the slave trade along Fortaleza's shorefront, this area contains a rich history that can easily become attractive material to tourists. With collaboration between the government and the people of the area, communities such as Poço da Draga can be improved with the necessary amenities such as education and health, and they will have jobs by means of providing tourists with a history of the city and the community.

Each one of the examples above is one of countless ways to both implement tourism and improve the social infrastructure of Fortaleza. Whether through jobs, renovations, or other methods, those interviewed saw these options as viable ways to change the current status of the city, and to improve the prospects of its future. These are not the only ways, but they begin to show some of the creative options that could be implemented if the people and government were to work together for the betterment of all.

If this research is only presenting a small portion of the public's opinion, do these examples truly matter? Can these things be easily implemented, or are they simply wishful thinking? It is true; these issues will take time to reach resolution. Time is necessary to improve all areas, whether it is investing more in health, education, security, sanitation, and transportation, training employees, or creating a historical center. Regardless of the specific agendas desired by the men and women interviewed, the most important thing to remember is that

“the good aspects have to be well thought out, well planned, and well executed. And the negatives we have to be very cautious about - because if we are sure to be cautious, many

of these negatives will diminish. But if we are not cautious, things are going to worsen”³⁹.

This quote serves as a reminder. While the aforementioned plans for the future may never be the ones achieved, and progress and improvements in the lives of all citizens may be made in different ways, the point is that these ideas *exist*. The people have beliefs, and hopes for the future, and have ideas as to how to create these improvements. What is missing is discussions between the government and the people as to how to implement these ideas to improve the city.

Conclusions

The reality is that nobody really knows what the aquarium has in store for Fortaleza’s future both as a tourist attraction, and an income source for the city. While the government claims that tourism will support the people, it has yet to do so, and the people are skeptical of what will come in the future. Progress has been made in terms of a steadily improving job market and small improvements in education and health. But unfortunately, small improvements are not bringing the basic amenities to the many people of Fortaleza that need them. The aquarium may well be one of many investments that the government makes that does not bring benefits to the population of the city. Fortunately, it is not too late to ensure that the infrastructure of Fortaleza will improve with the money brought in from the aquarium. The government has the ability to start planning now for where the aquarium’s future income will be invested.

³⁹ Thiago. Personal Interview November 13, 2013. ISP Journal page 30.

However, given the past, this may be easier said than done, as the government has neglected the locals on multiple occasions. Fortaleza's citizens should have the right to a basic quality of life that includes sanitation, education, and proper health care. The government's neglect to deliver these amenities, and instead prioritize the development of tourism infrastructure, raises the question of social justice in Fortaleza. Luckily, the people of Fortaleza are beginning to challenge the government and its injustices. With manifestations during the Confederation Cup and even at the aquarium site, the citizens are finally expressing their dissatisfaction with the government. And one can only hope that this pressure will bring about the improvements to the city's infrastructure that are needed by many of its people.

If anything is to be accomplished, communication must come from both the government and the people. On one hand, if the government wants the support of the citizens, it needs to begin listening, and including citizens in discussions and planning processes. It will also need to begin placing a priority on the wants and needs of its own constituents. On the other hand, if the citizens want to understand what the government is doing, they need to be sure they understand the facts; being well-informed may cause them to approve of the government's course of action, or, it could make their arguments against the government that much stronger, as they will be better versed on the issues. They also need to continue to speak out against the government, as this may bring change in the future. Without these channels of communication, everyone has ideas but nobody is listening – it is all rhetoric without results.

One of the things I believe became most important within the research project that Elizabeth and I conducted on the aquarium was that we worked together. I would highly

recommend this approach if students intend to study the aquarium in a later project. There are so many viewpoints and potential people to talk to, that it may be overwhelming for one person to attempt the project alone. Seeing both the view of citizens and the government has been extremely useful in better understanding the aquarium's controversy, and I would advise that anyone attempting this project in the future hear both sides of the story, if for nothing else than to have a counter-point of view. Knowing how both sides felt allowed me to better comprehend the issues at hand, and I believe this was invaluable in the creation of this monograph.

A realidade é que ninguém realmente sabe o que o aquário tem na loja para o futuro de Fortaleza, tanto como uma atração turística , e uma fonte de renda para a cidade. Enquanto o governo afirma que o turismo vai apoiar as pessoas, ele ainda tem de fazê-lo, e as pessoas estão céticos sobre o que virá no futuro. Registaram-se progressos em termos de um mercado de trabalho melhorando de forma constante e pequenas melhorias na educação e saúde. Mas, infelizmente, pequenas melhorias não estão trazendo as amenidades básicas para as muitas pessoas de Fortaleza que precisam deles. O aquário pode muito bem ser um dos muitos investimentos que o governo faz que não traz benefícios para a população da cidade. Felizmente, não é tarde demais para garantir que a infraestrutura de Fortaleza vai melhorar com o dinheiro trazido do aquário. O governo tem a capacidade de começar a planejar agora para que o rendimento futuro do aquário será investido.

No entanto, dado o passado, isso pode ser mais fácil de dizer do que fazer, já que o governo tem negligenciado os locais em várias ocasiões. Cidadãos de Fortaleza devem ter o direito a uma qualidade básica de vida que inclui saneamento , educação e cuidados de saúde adequados. Negligência do governo para entregar essas amenidades e, em vez priorizar o desenvolvimento de infraestrutura turística, levanta a questão de justiça social, em Fortaleza. Felizmente, o povo de Fortaleza estão começando a desafiar o governo e suas injustiças. Com manifestações durante a Copa das Confederações e até mesmo no local do aquário, os cidadãos estão, finalmente, expressar sua insatisfação com o governo. E só podemos esperar que essa pressão vai trazer as melhorias na infraestrutura da cidade, que são necessários para muitos dos seus habitantes.

Se alguma coisa está a ser realizado , a comunicação deve vir por parte do governo e do povo. Por um lado, se o governo quer o apoio dos cidadãos, ele precisa começar a ouvir, e incluindo os cidadãos nas discussões e processos de planejamento. Ele também terá que começar a colocar uma prioridade sobre os desejos e necessidades de seus próprios eleitores. Por outro lado, se os cidadãos querem entender o que o governo está fazendo, eles precisam ter certeza de que eles entendem os fatos , sendo bem informado pode levá-los a aprovar, claro, do governo de ação, ou , poderia fazer os seus argumentos contra o governo que muito mais forte, uma vez que será mais versado nas questões . Eles também precisam de continuar a manifestar-se contra o governo, pois isso pode trazer a mudança no futuro. Sem esses canais de comunicação, todos têm ideias, mas ninguém está ouvindo - é tudo retórica, sem resultados.

Uma das coisas que eu acredito que se tornou a mais importante dentro do projeto de pesquisa que Elizabeth e eu fizemos no aquário foi que nós trabalhamos juntos. Eu

recomendo esta abordagem, se os alunos pretendem estudar o aquário em um projeto mais tarde. Há tantos pontos de vista e as pessoas potenciais para conversar, que pode ser esmagadora para uma pessoa tentar o projeto sozinho. Vendo tanto o ponto de vista dos cidadãos e do governo tem sido extremamente útil para compreender melhor a demanda do aquário, e eu aconselho que alguém tentar este projeto no futuro ouvir os dois lados da história, se por nada mais do que ter um contraponto de vista. Sabendo como os dois lados se sentiu me permitiu compreender melhor os problemas na mão, e eu acredito que este foi inestimável para a criação desta monografia.

Glossary of Terms

Favela: The term was initially used in dictionaries as a botanical denomination in XIXth century rural Brazil. Favela was the name of a plant, with a medicinal and a practical function: its leaves were used for an herb tea and its light wood served as building material. It was also a plant that provoked itches, and had thus a symbolic meaning. It gained a geographical sense (Morro da Favella in Bahia, then in Rio de Janeiro) during a rural civil war named “*Guera de Canudos*” (1895-1896) where soldiers after having fought in the war in Bahia eventually settled on a hill in Rio de Janeiro called Morro da Providência, as they awaited their pay. They named their new settlement Morro da Favella, after the plant which had thrived at the site of their famous victory against rebels and also as a symbolic gesture, as they were now in an inferior position. There, from designating a specific place, favela became eventually the general denomination of an urban phenomenon typical of Rio’s development from the 1920s on, whereby settlers built precarious homes in land they did not own. By the 1950s, it was extended to a national category used by the Brazilian census, and from the 1960s on it entered the terminology of the social sciences (Valladares). Given that the people of

Poço da Draga do not own the land, they are defined as a favela community, though none of the members of the community used this word in my discussions with them.

Ponte Metálica: The name means metallic point and was derived from the original appearance of the structure, which was made from steel and iron. Construction was completed in 1906, and the port saw passengers and cargo brought to Fortaleza's shores (Governo de Ceara). It was one of the first ports of Fortaleza, but was abandoned in 1950 when the main port moved to Mucuripe. The area is now a tourist attraction that boasts a beautiful sunset, and each day a large number of surfers can be seen in the waters around the pier.

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Appendix I: Reflections

This research project is to be read in conjunction with the research done by Elizabeth Duffield. While this paper concentrates on the people of Fortaleza, her research focuses on the government, and its ideas and views in regards to the aquarium's construction. In looking at the aquarium from two separate points of view, one from the government, and one from the people, we hope that readers will see the aquarium's story more completely. The rhetoric surrounding the project varies so drastically, that it became difficult for us to attempt to tell the story, all we heard, and all we saw. We both believed we would enter this project, and our job would be made easy – the people don't want the aquarium, the government does, there is a discrepancy, but the government is building it anyways. But as we got into the project, it became so much more than that. The aquarium is illegal, Environmental Impact Reports don't exist, these reports do exist and are accessible to the public; the aquarium will bring jobs and is good, the aquarium is a waste of money that can be spent on other things. The aquarium is going to ruin the environment and we must be more careful, the aquarium will provide research to raise awareness about the environment.

And so Elizabeth and I realized that what we thought would be black and white, turned out to be much more gray than anything we could have imagined. Some of the rhetoric is right, some is wrong; some misinformed and some informed. We realized that *of course* over three million people have a million different things to say, and so does each branch of the government. But the information swirling around is half correct, and half wrong. A certain level of transparency from the government does exist, as the aquarium blueprints and environmental reports were shown to Elizabeth and I, and are

also 'public'. And yet there is still all this misinformation, suggesting that while information may be public, it may not be easily accessible. There is a lack of dialogue, and so while all this rhetoric exists, there are millions of different ideas about the aquarium because nobody understands the full story. There is a complete lack of direct communication, and both the people and the government must work on this if the future of Fortaleza is to improve in a desirable fashion.

While a project of a similar nature could have been fashioned in the United States, this research is unique to Fortaleza, in that it is studying the aquarium being built here. The situation of Poço da Draga and the people of Fortaleza is also specific, as the economic gap is so disparate in this city. While poverty exists in the United States, the culture of poverty and social injustice in Fortaleza and Brazil is different in many ways from that within the USA. Fortaleza's high number of Favelas, the relationship between the people and the government, as well as the major justification for tourism development is quite different than the US. Essentially none of my research could have been done within the USA, as the majority of the information important to my research came from discussions with citizens of the city of Fortaleza.

The majority of this ISP is supported by primary sources. Secondary sources exist merely to paint the pictures of Brazil, Ceará and Fortaleza, so the reader may better understand the context of the arguments taking place. From there, the reader is meant to understand the story and views of the people of Fortaleza who were interviewed, so they may see what the people desire for the future of the city. In this way, readers can better grasp the disapproval of the aquarium.

I believe the ISP gave me a greater sense of the political culture of Fortaleza, which was something that had not been touched on at length within our courses. To understand the ways in which the government and public interact (or don't) was eye opening, especially when comparing it with this relationship within the USA. What was most surprising to me was that while people had problems with the aquarium, there were no major movements against its creation, only a smaller manifestation and organization created to fight it.

This ISP did little to improve my adjustment to Fortaleza's culture. I had already felt relatively integrated into the society, and if anything I believe this research period enforced this integration. I am fortunate enough to appear Brazilian, as my family is from Portugal. Because of this, I have always blended in in Fortaleza, being asked for directions on the street more times than I can count. This allowed me to be viewed as a Brazilian, and gave me more freedom of movement, especially within Poço da Draga. I was less concerned about my security there, given that I knew I would blend in to some extent.

The field exercises also did a great deal in easing my mind when walking around and visiting various locations for my ISP. It made me less nervous to speak in Portuguese with someone who I had never met before. The exercises also allowed me the opportunity to better see how an interviewee would react, and so it made me more conscious of the questions I asked, and the manner in which I asked them. I think the most informative part of our RME courses were our discussions in regards to our interviewees, and how we should approach interviews. Things that never had crossed my mind in the past, such as literacy, body language, and other variables all had to be

considered, so that we were not to offend or discomfort our subjects within the first moments of the interview. I truly believe that learning to pick up on these small cues helped me within my field interviews, and allowed for smoother, more comfortable interviews to take place.

Fieldwork was a completely new experience for me, but I absolutely loved learning in this manner. In the past, all the research I had done was online, or in books or journals. Given that I consider myself a people-person, this new research in which we got to speak with people to understand the issue we were researching was enjoyable and a total change of pace. My project relied most heavily on participation and my interviews, as observing some of the locations I went such as Faculdade Ateneu or LABOMAR would not have been extremely conducive to my final monograph. That said, my observations of the aquarium site, graffiti and Poço da Draga community were all very interesting, and provided me with a great deal of knowledge about everything going on. The photographs I took were also helpful as I looked back on my project, and I was glad I took them as I was writing my monograph. They jogged my memory at times when my field journal did not.

There was so much data that I wanted to use for my monograph, I found it hard to not write about everything I had discussed with my interviewees. Ultimately though, I had to make decisions as to what to include, and I did this based upon what I had defined as my original themes of social impacts and tourism. I got a great deal of information about the environmental impacts, and could have done another project just focusing on this topic, but in the end I chose to stick closely to my original topic so I did not become completely overwhelmed by the directions my information could take me.

I believe a large part of this breadth of information came from the fact that I interviewed so many different kinds of people. Speaking with scientists, professors, and community members gave me many views, and also led off on countless tangents. While this gave me a wide variety of viewpoints, it also made me wish I could interview 20 more people, and hear their opinions on the aquarium's construction and tourism. I was glad that Egidio took Elizabeth and I to so many places, as it gave me insights and ideas that I didn't expect.

In this way, and many ways, Egidio was essential to my project. He gave me so many routes to take, and while I was apprehensive about this at first, as I had originally planned to focus solely on the community, I am grateful he set up meetings in a variety of locations. Without him, I would not have had the breadth of knowledge and viewpoints that I believe now exist within my monograph. And while I had hoped to go to Poço da Draga earlier on in the research period, and Egidio kept postponing it, I ended up visiting the community on 3 occasions, which I was fine with. I was amazed throughout the process by just how many contacts Egidio had, and how many doors he was able to open up for Elizabeth and I. The only problem was that Egidio planned many our days at the start of the ISP period, and sometimes we had no idea where we would be going on any given day. This made it hard for Elizabeth and I to plan our time, as things were constantly in motion. We also went to a large number of government buildings, and Egidio seemed to give these visits priority, given that he knew the people there. I was apprehensive at first, as we visited few places of interest to me within the first week. Even with this problem, we were able to get to all of the places we really wanted to visit, and I realized that even my visits to government offices were of value. It showed me how

things can travel in a completely different direction than the original plan, and still end up working out.

I think this is the most important thing learned within my ISP. As an organized person, plans and schedules are a necessity within my life. During this project, I was flying by the seat of my pants, things were constantly changing, and sometimes I had no idea what was going on. And in the end – that was okay. I ended up with a project I loved, interviews that were interesting, and information that was completely unexpected. And this was what made the research fun and exciting, and ultimately made me passionate about my project. I would do this project again in a heartbeat, especially now that I have established contacts in many different areas. I am hopeful that I can incorporate this research, or further this research during my senior year where I need to write my senior thesis for International Studies.

To future students interested in attempting a similar project, my main suggestion would be to remain open minded. You are going to hear viewpoints that contradict both your research and the words of others whom you speak with. This makes for a better project in the end, though it may make you crazy trying to sort through everything. I would suggest you choose to focus more specifically, on views of the aquarium pertaining to environment or government spending for example. Focusing on tourism, and then general views of the aquarium on the whole led me to so much information it became difficult to pull out sections for my monograph given the breadth of information and differing views on so many topics. A smaller focus will provide a more concrete starting point, and will allow you to ask more direct questions that can be answered more directly.

Appendix II: Research Questions

1. How did you first find out about the aquarium's construction?
Como você descobriu que o aquário vai ser construído?
2. How would you describe your community's relationship with the government?
Como você descreve o relação entre sua comunidade e o governo?
3. If the government was in contact with your community during the planning process for the aquarium, what was addressed during these discussions? Did you feel that Poço da Draga had a voice in the process?
Se o governo teve contato com o comunidade durante o processo de planejamento do aquário, sobre o que vocês falaram? Você pensa que as pessoas de Poço da Draga tiveram voz durante do processo?
4. It is possible that part of the community will be relocated because of the aquarium. What impact does this have on your community?
É possível que um parte de comunidade vai ser deslocada por causa do aquário. Que impacto tem este deslocamento de pessoas na comunidade?
5. What are your thoughts on the industry of tourism in Fortaleza?
Que você acha da indústria do turismo em Fortaleza?
6. How do you feel about the finances that are being invested in the aquarium and the tourism industry in the city?
Que você acha do dinheiro que está sendo investido no aquário e na indústria de turismo de cidade?
7. Do you believe that your community will benefit from the construction of the aquarium?

Você pensa que o Poço da Draga vai receber os benefícios da construção do aquário?

8. What do you believe will be the long-term impact of the aquarium within your community?

Quais você acha que serão os impactos a longo prazo do aquário na comunidade?

Appendix III: Photos



Graffiti lining the wall surrounding the aquarium construction site

On this section of wall:

“Falta hospital

Falta escola

“A promessa

de investir

em gente,

Só não falta aquário

Refleta...

Aquário não!”

na gente

essa nunca

é cumprida”



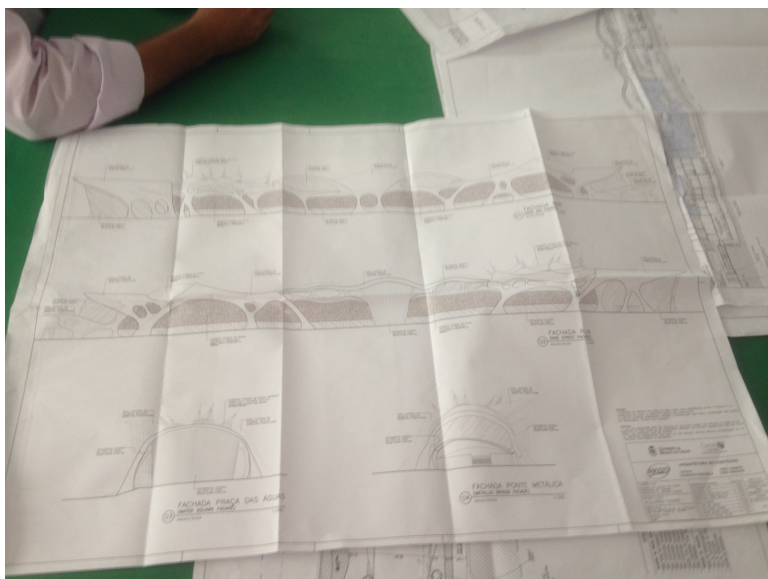
“Why an aquarium, if we are missing hospitals, schools”



Construction Site with first floor at near completion



Elizabeth and Molly Visit Construction Site



Blueprints of the future aquarium